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The Children of the Mist

Lord Archibald Campbell



P

RESENTED IN MEMORY OF

ANNIE NELSON BAILEY, 1866-1919

BY HER SON THOMAS A. BAILEY, '24, AND

HIS WIFE SYLVIA DEAN BAILEY, TO THE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

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INCIDENT IN THE SCO



W. & A. K. Jones. — Painted by W. Jones.

DUTCH REBELLION, 1745.

STATION
HOLBORN



THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

H. A. J. JENNISON
EDITORIAL AND LONDON
1907

THIS LITTLE PAMPHLET
IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF A MOST LOVABLE, AMIABLE, AND
ACCOMPLISHED MAN, WHO DIED BELOVED BY ALL WHO EVER
HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO MEET HIM,

Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert,
DUKE OF ALBANY.

He died in the noontide of life, a loss to the nation, to rich and poor alike. He cared much for things Scottish and connected with the Highlands; therefore, in the words of the Laureate—

“These to his memory
“Since he held them dear.”

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

PREFACE.

THE admirable and faithful copy of the picture in the Windsor collection was painted by Mr Ernest Griset, with minute fidelity, at the Royal Military Exhibition, Chelsea, leave having been obtained from the Queen. Day after day this excellent artist was early at work on the canvas, with the result that it is now possible to get a reduced copy by colour-printing process, and to place the same in the hands of the public.

The picture of the "incident" lay long *perdu*—probably purposely put away by the successors of the Duke of Cumberland in a lumber room at Windsor Castle.

Under the direction of Sir Charles Robinson, however, it was sent to the Military Exhibition with all the other military pictures by D. Morier. Highlanders owe a debt of gratitude to whosoever unearthed this most curious picture from the Windsor Castle lumber room.

It would also not be rendering justice to the gallant officer, Colonel G. C. W. Malet, the originator of the Royal Military Exhibition at Chelsea, not to state that he afforded all possible facilities for the copying of the work.

It may here be well to give a letter written in June to the *Glasgow Herald*, which contains the extract from "Bryan's Dictionary of Painters," con-

cerning the artist, D. Morier, who painted the "Incident in the Scottish Rebellion" for H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland.

THE TARTAN.

COOMBE HILL FARM, KINGSTON-ON-THAMES,
June 13, 1890.

SIR,—In your issue of the 12th you were good enough to find room for my letter about the picture by D. Morier of a battle incident of the '45, wherein Prince Charles Edward's men of various clans advance arrayed in the distinctive tartans of their respective clans. The importance of the picture is great to all Highlanders, and I give here the record of the artist from "Bryan's Dictionary of Painters," a thoroughly reliable work:—

"Morier, David.—This artist was born at Berne, in Switzerland, about the year 1705. He came to England soon after the battle of Dettingen, and was presented to the Duke of Cumberland by Sir Edward Faulkener, who settled on him a pension of two hundred pounds a year. He distinguished himself as a painter of battles, managed horses, etc., and also painted portraits, in which he was extensively employed. He died in 1770, and was buried in St. James', Clerkenwell."

He was, according to this, 40 years of age at the time of the '45, and would have been in his prime an experienced artist in costume and detail of arms. No more conclusive proof of distinctive clan colours has been exhibited and it silences all dispute on the question at once and for all time.—I am, &c.,

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

I am indebted to Mr D. MacIsaac of Oban for a careful revision of Gaelic terms in this little book.

A. C.

ERRATA.

Page 2, line 7, *delete but.*

„ 4, „ 19, *for M'Calien Mhor, read MacChailein Mhòir.*

„ 14, „ 7, „ Sherrif Muir „ Sheriff-Muir.

„ 15, „ 15, „ impassible, „ impassable.

be placed in this artist as regards accuracy. He was, so to say, "correct to a button."

The Duke of Cumberland, as an officer, and having a military eye and training, would not have allowed any picture to form a part of his collection were such picture not accurate in detail. No one can for a moment doubt but that the Duke had samples of Highland Dress taken during the campaign, and it is more than probable that Morier painted from prisoners of war, who would have been the best of all available models.

THE STEWART TARTAN FROM THE BATTLE OF KILSYTH.

We have a living witness in the Reverend Alexander Stewart* of Ballachulish, as having seen a piece of Stewart Tartan taken from the corpse of a fallen clansman who fought under Montrose at the Battle of Kilsyth. This was cut off on the field of battle, taken home to the family, and by them kept from that day forth, together with a charm stone. No one proposes to assert that tartans were invented for the Battle of Kilsyth. We have ample evidence that the "Breacan" existed very many years before any action of Kilsyth. We have the Duke of St. Alban's coat, now at Bestwood, which was worn by Charles II. at his wedding, the ribbons of which are of Royal Stuart† tartan.

Elsewhere evidence has been adduced to the fact that the Jacobite Campbell of Lochnell wore the common Campbell tartan at Culloden, and this plaid used by Lochnell was often in the hands of the late Mrs Lilius Davidson, who identified the plaid worn by her ancestor as being the same worn by the Campbell Clan to this day.

The Jacobite Campbell of Lochnell was the great-

* Better known as "Nether Lochaber."

† See "Records of Argyll," page 446. Duchess of St. Alban's letter to Mrs, now Lady Millais.

grandfather of Mrs Lilius Davidson, *née* Miss Campbell of Lochnell, and the name of the Jacobite officer who fought at Culloden was Alexander Campbell of Ardsignish.

He was brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell.

In 1700, the Rev. James Brome writing about Highland Dress says, "*they go habited in mantles striped or streaked with divers colours about their shoulders which they call pladden.*"

1640.

The writer of "Memoirs of a Cavalier" describing the Highlanders under General Leslie in 1640, mentions that "the various companies were composed of men of the same name or Clan."

1661.

"In the year 1661 there is a reference to Tartan in the ten large published folio volumes of the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, which will be found in the seventh volume, page 186, where Tartan is valued at thirty shillings per ell."*

The Argyll documents at Inverary Castle contain constant mention of plaiding, which it were but wearisome to reproduce in detail.

THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Many a true-hearted Highlander looks on the Battle of Culloden as a day which not only confirmed the heroism of the Highlanders, but as a day which, from its after consequences, was one full of blessing to the Scottish people, and to the Highlanders in particular. No Scotchmen of the days of Wallace or of Bruce,

* See MacIntyre North's "Book of True Highlanders."

no Highlanders under Claverhouse behaved more gloriously or died more joyously than the "Children of the Mist," whose souls took flight rushing on the bayonets of Cumberland's scarlet-coated troops.

Religious reasons caused the men of Sutherland and others to fight for the Protestant religion, and to the Campbells, at the Battle of Culloden, as a Clan, belongs the honour of fighting on that side, on which their Chiefs for generations had fought and had died.

It has been said, by the enemies of the Campbells, that they fought, and were to be found, as a rule, on the winning side. No meaner and less justifiable statement from party rancour or religious spite was ever made.

They fought on the side of Hanover as Protestants. Only a little more than a generation back the Jacobites had harried Argyllshire on all sides. Not a blanket* or petticoat had been left. The gentry had been hung in a group at the door of the castle of *M'Calien Mhor*, and his castle had been made a stable of by Athole.

Such incidents did not conduce to making the Clan agreeable to the Jacobite rule, and they, to their infinite credit as a fighting body, fought for King George and the Protestant religion.

THE OLD RULES LAID DOWN AND MARKED ON LITTLE STICKS, INDICATING THE CORRECT "SET" OR PATTERN.

It has often been mentioned elsewhere that the word Tartan is not a Gaelic word; in poems of that language the term used means spotted cloth. And here may be mentioned and noted the fact that all the oldest Tartans are unique as regards fine contrasts of colour, or rather as harmonies in colour.

No modern foreign or English firm, try as much as they like, ever could or can produce the splendid coloration to be obtained by following the good

* See "Depredations in Argyll."

old rules laid down as regards the number of threads needed, and their coloration. These rules, as is known to all Highlanders, were laid down and marked out on little pieces of stick, detailing the number of threads going to form the "set;" the colours also were indicated. These used to be found in every Highland cottage.

THE ACT AGAINST THE WEARING OF THE BREACAN OR TARTAN.

The memorable Act against the wearing of the Tartan, or of any part of the Highland Dress, may briefly be alluded to.

In how many ways the Act was evaded is constantly mentioned. The writer of these lines has often enough found Arms in Highland Cottages which, most undoubtedly, belonged to the days of 1715 and 1745, and were, in some cases, yet older, and had been concealed by the owners in various places in their cottages. To the Duke of Montrose the Highlanders owe the prompt repeal of the Act, and we must acknowledge that John Bull has ever since been affectionately eager to efface the memory of the severity of the Act, and it therefore ill becomes the Clansmen to dwell on this particular incident.

On the first day of August 1747 O.S., which corresponds with the 13th New Style, an Act was passed preventing the Highlanders from wearing the national dress. This most unjust Act runs as follows:—"That
" from and after the First Day of August, One thousand
" seven hundred and forty-seven, no Man or Boy within
" that part of Great Britain called Scotland, other
" than such as shall be employed as Officers and
" Soldiers in His Majesty's Forces, shall, on any pre-
" tence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes com-
" monly called Highland Clothes (that is to say), the
" Plaid, Philabeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder
" Belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly

" belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no tartan
 " or party-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used for
 " Great Coats or for Upper Coats; and if any such
 " person shall presume after the said First Day of
 " August to wear or put on the aforesaid garments or
 " any part of them, every such person so offending
 " being convicted thereof by the oath of one or more
 " credible witness or witnesses before any Court of
 " Justiciary or any one or more of the Justices of the
 " Peace for the shire or stewartry, or Judge Ordinary
 " of the place where such offence shall be committed,
 " shall suffer imprisonment without bail during the
 " space of six months and no longer, and being con-
 " victed of a second offence before the Court of Jus-
 " ticiary, or at the Circuits, shall be liable to be trans-
 " ported to any of His Majesty's plantations beyond
 " the seas, there to remain for the space of seven
 " years."

THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

Logan in his "Gael" says that he "had read in a
 " Scots newspaper of 1750, the trial of a person for
 " murder, who was eventually acquitted, as the indi-
 " vidual he killed wore a tartan dress. It was in 1782
 " the Act prohibitory of the Highland Dress and
 " Arms was, by the influence of the Duke of Montrose,
 " repealed; the Highlanders were jubilant, and the
 " Duke was, for the time, the idol of his northern
 " fellow-countrymen."

Duncan Bàn, the Gaelic Bard, sings his praises.

As to the enactments against Irish Dress, there were many.

Logan enumerates them. By an Act of the fifth of
 Edward IV. the Irish were ordered to dress like the
 English, under the pain of a forfeiture of goods; and
 a similar law was passed in the tenth of Henry VII.
 These statutes had little effect, for, in the twenty-
 eighth of Henry VIII. another enactment prohibits,

under a severe penalty, "all persons from shaving
 " above their ears, wearing cromeal on their lips, or
 " glibes on their heads, or from dressing in any shirt,
 " smock, kerchor, bendel, neckerchor, mochet, or linen
 " cap, coloured or dyed with saffron; or to wear in
 " their shirts or smocks more than seven yards of
 " cloth, according to the King's standard."

During the middle of the seventeenth century, however, or up to that date, the Irish were still to be seen wearing the national dress.

The national colour, so to say, before "*the wearing of the green*," was saffron colour.

" The true account of the chequered wrapper—a garment to be folded about and about one," is the excellent description given by the learned Logan of the ancient garb.

" The Breacan feile, literally chequered covering, is the original garb of the Highlanders, and forms the chief part of the costume; the other articles, although equally Celtic, and now peculiar to Scotland, being subordinate to this singular remain of a most ancient dress. The Breacan, in its simple form, is now seldom used. It consisted of a plain piece of tartan, two yards in width by four or six in length. In dressing this was carefully plaited in the middle, of a breadth suitable to the size of the wearer, and sufficient to extend from one side around his back to the other, leaving as much at each end as would cover the front of the body, overlapping each other. The plaid being thus prepared, was firmly bound round the loins with a leathern belt, in such manner that the lower side fell down to the middle of the knee-joint, and then, while there were the foldings behind, the cloth was double before. The upper part was then fastened on the left shoulder with a large brooch or pin, so as to display to the most advantage the tastefulness of the arrangement, the two ends being sometimes suffered to hang down, but that on the right side, which was necessarily the longest, was more usually tucked under the belt."

The simplest way of dressing when on the hillside and in privacy is to lay the plaid on a sloping bank, with the belt under the same, and then, carefully plaiting the garment round the body, to fasten the buckle, when the ancient Highland garb will be at once formed.

RELICS OF THE REBELLION AT THE TOWER OF LONDON.

In the fire of the White Tower, in the Tower of London, perished a vast number of objects taken from the troops of Prince Charlie.

The late Campbell of Islay stated that there were quantities of ornaments and arms belonging to the Jacobites in this collection, and that he had often seen them. As regards the dresses worn during the Rebellion, the ravages of moth has prevented much from being handed down, but recent Exhibitions in Edinburgh and London have proved that many old Tartan dresses are yet "to the fore." The Lochaber Axes at the Tower of London, of which there are several examples, may be said to be almost all that is left of the collection once in the White Tower.

THE ATHOLE RAID INTO ARGYLL.

CAMPBELL OF ISLAY'S LETTER.

With reference to the Athole raid when they visited Inverary, the late Campbell of Islay writes (June 18, 1882) to the following effect:—

"I happen to have some old papers, and to have read others, by which I can trace my Skipness pedigree back for some generations, but that is all I can do in your line.

"The Athole men hanged one of them when they hanged a great many other Campbells. I believe,

“ but I cannot prove, that one of the sons of the
 “ hanged Skipness was John Campbell, goldsmith in
 “ the Strand, who signed himself *Coosen* to David, first
 “ of Shawfield, in a letter from whose seal your Bank
 “ (Coutts, 59 Strand) recovered the crowns which adorn
 “ your cheques. . . .

“ In an account (elsewhere alluded to) of the depredations committed on the Clan Campbell and their Followers during the years 1685 and 1686 by the Troops of the Duke of Gordon, Marquis of Athole, Lord Strathnaver, and others, it is an easy task for all to see into every homestead in Argyllshire, for the Athole men entered almost all the buildings, plundering the same of all that they contained.”

A complete list exists of all articles taken. Athole's force contained Lochaber men, men of Glencoia (Glencoe), and some of the MacGregors.

THE DEPRIDATIONS.

Mention of Highland and Lowland Plaids.

MacGregors — Among the articles robbed are the following:—

- “ *Item*—Ane new colored woman's wearing plaid,
 “ most sett to boday red.
- “ *Item*—Ane grey broken plaid, sett most to the
 “ green.”

From Peninaver they take, among a host of articles—

- “ *Item* — Ane half playd, 3 lib., and bodily
 “ apparell” — in all estimated at Lib. 13,
 6s. 8d.

From Ardnacroish—

- “ Ane sword belt, worth 2 lib.,” etc., etc.

Among the goods robbed from Mr John Duncan-
son, late minister at Kilchattan, we find—

	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" <i>Item</i> —1 Lowland playd mantle,			
" etc.	12	0	0
" <i>Item</i> —4 pair sprained playds .	46	13	4
" <i>Item</i> —For a Highland plaid, with			
" some oyr cloathes linen and			
" woolen	6	13	4"

In Islay, Marie Campbell, relict of umq^{le} (the
late) Ion M'Cavis of Donnardrie is robbed, among
other items, of—

	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" <i>Item</i> —Two pair of Truise . . .	2	0	0
" <i>Item</i> —Four elnes of plaiden . .	1	6	8
" <i>Item</i> —Ane small plaid at . . .	6	13	4"

Arms not often mentioned.

Some arms are mentioned, but not often, for the
obvious reason that every one went armed, and was
not in the habit of leaving arms at home to fall a
prey to the constant raids of those days.

	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Each horse and mare is valued at .	30	0	0
Each sheep and goat at 40s., each			
cow at	16	0	0 .

MacNaughten's men are found on the Athole side
plundering in Cowall, also mention occurs of some of
Skipness' men occupied in the same way; and so it is
surprising to find a Skipness among the men hanged
at Inverary, if, indeed, any surprise can be felt at
the mode of procedure in those days.*

If some of Skipness' men plundered together with
the Athole troops, it would follow that either these
men went against the side the chief took, or else that

* See Appendix—passage on the Argyll men in the Athole
country.

Athole hung the Skipness gentleman by mistake, among "a great many other Campbells," as Islay says in his letter.

The Cameron men, Lochziell's (Lochiel's men) were very busy plunderers in Cowall.

THE COMPANIES INDEPENDENT RAISED AT BREADALBANE'S INSTANCE IN WILLIAM THE THIRD'S REIGN.

It was at Breadalbane's suggestion, soon after the Massacre of Glencoe, that a scheme was proposed for utilising the Highlanders "in case of insurrection at " home or invasion from abroad."

The Highland chiefs were directed to raise a body of four thousand men, who would be disciplined and ready to turn out when needed, and these were to be commanded by some principal man in the Highlands. It is said that this principal man was to have been the Earl of Breadalbane himself, and that Lochiel was to have been second in command. Lochiel was a Protestant, and was anxious to serve the King. The number of officers was to be forty, and these were to be chosen of Highland extraction.

These troops, first organised in the reign of King William the Third, are said to have been of some use, but they were broken up in 1717. (*See Stewart's "Sketches,"* Vol. I., p. 224, where he says some Highlanders had been armed 1725.)

Wade's opinion of these troops was that, out of the total, ten thousand were vassals to superiors, and might be relied on by the Government of the day, but that the rest—namely, "twelve thousand—had " been engaged in rebellions, and were ready and " ripe to create fresh trouble if called upon by their " respective chiefs."

Wade named the "Clans Cameron on the west of " the shire of Inverness; the MacKenzies and others

“ in the shire of Ross, who were vassals of Seaforth; “ the Mac-Donalds of Keppoch, the Broadalbin * “ men, and the MacGregors, on the borders of “ Argyll.”

He declared that these “ went about in parties from “ ten to thirty, traverse large tracts of mountains till “ they arrive at the low lands.” He then describes how they “ descend, driving off the cattle, and in the “ day remain on the tops of the mountains, or in the “ woods, and take the first opportunity to sell them “ at the fairs or markets that are annually held “ in many parts of the country.” (*See Keltie’s “ History of the Scottish Highlands,” p. 483, Vol. I.*)

Wade reports that reliance cannot be placed on these troops, nor “ some who command them.” Instead of bringing criminals to justice, he declares, (as I am informed), “ these often compounded for “ the theft, and for a sum of money set them at “ liberty.”

They were also accused of having defrauded the Government by keeping only half the regulation numbers in constant pay, which “ might be the “ reason your Majesty† caused them to be dis- “ banded.”

All students of regimental or of the history of the Highlands remember the next raising of the independent companies, and of the success of the formation, merging later on into the Forty-second Regiment, commanded by the brilliant Earl of Crawford. These companies that had been “ independent ” were placed under Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochrèll, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, who were appointed to the larger companies—Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, to that of the smaller—in 1729 or 1730. (*See Stewart’s “ Sketches,” Vol. I, p. 227.*)

* Breadalbane—Gaelic, “ Braid-albainn.”

† King George I.

1715.

These notes of the ways of the Children of the Mist would be incomplete without some reference to Rob Roy, and the dilemma he was in at the time of the Mar rising. However much Rob might have felt inclined to side with Argyll, the MacGregors were Jacobites, saving the sept of Ciar Mhor, to which Rob belonged.

The insurgents were obliged to trust him as their only guide on their march from Perth toward Dunblane at a place called the Fords of Frew. They had little real faith in MacGregor, it is said.

By some miscalculation, it will be remembered, Rob and the Clansmen* were not at the beginning of the engagement. The MacPhersons and MacGregors stood disputing and irresolute. The account given of Rob Roy affords a picture typical enough of the times.

Reproached for inaction, he wanted to fight a mortal duel with his accuser then and there. Gazing, it is said, on the combatants, and leaning on his sword, he calmly watched the combat, saying, "That is so much;" and when reproached with inaction, he said, "If they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me."

ROB ROY MACGREGOR.

It may appear to some persons a thankless task to vindicate the character of Rob Roy MacGregor, *alias* Campbell, and to others ridiculous to make him out to be a great hero. General Stewart of Garth, in his memorable book, appears to have thought that enough had been said and written about this remarkable man. This is a mistake, for Rob's life was an epitome of the times in which he lived. His Clan had suffered grievous wrongs, and had been treated

* See Keltie's "History of the Highlands."

as few human beings have been treated in any age or in any land. To insults of former years was added abominable conduct to his wife; if this was not enough to make him "a broken man," we may well ask, What more was needed?

The inaction for which he was severely taken to task both during the Battle of Sherrif Muir and after that engagement was one of the few acts for which he could really be praised. He would indeed have been the basest of men had he struck against Argyll, who, for reasons obvious enough to those acquainted with those times, had sheltered MacGregor.

Rob Roy was a well-educated man, as is proved by letters extant. No man writing the firm and excellent hand he wrote could have been called uneducated. Again, if he was but a robber and a "broken man," how came it that at his funeral was gathered "the whole country side?" In another work* an account is given of Rob Roy's insistence on his right to attend a funeral, threatening if, as next of kin, this were not granted, that the corpse about to be interred would not be the only one to be buried. The district in which this funeral took place was full of Government Troops, yet not a hand was raised against the bold and resolute man who, fully armed, as usual, assisted at the burial. No more extraordinary instance of the ways and manners of those days could be named. This, surely, is a subject worthy the attention of our Scottish painters. Well may the MacGregors of our day place a rail round the tomb of this extraordinary man, whose faults were assuredly the outcome of hideous wrong and injustice.

Rob Roy died clothed in the "Breacan," his sword by his side, to the mournful lilt of the pipe. If he did not die sword in hand for some great cause, he died at a venerable age, a man beloved by many, and most of all by those who knew him best. That, may be, is the finest epitaph a man could wish to have.

* "Records of Argyll."

ROB ROY'S HOUSE IN GLENSHIRA.

The house built by Rob Roy at the head of Glenshira, some nine miles or rather more from Inverary, is at the base of a triangle formed by two streams, one of which runs at the back of the house in a deep gully covered with coppice wood, much the same as must have been the case in MacGregor's days, for here the planting is by nature's hand alone; the alder, the rowan, hazel, oak, ash, and birch being the trees that predominate. The flanks of the stream are covered with thick fern, and the clefts in the rock are filled with a variety of the fern tribe. Both at the back of the house and lower down stream, for hundreds of yards, this river is difficult to ascend, and wholly impassible at certain places, where precipitous rock and foaming stream alternate with deep pools.

The cottage was so situated that no enemy could approach unseen, and scouts had ample time to give warning of the approach of all parties. From the broad base of the triangle there are two straths, one running north, the other east, and down these the cattle were driven into the apex of the "fank" formed by the two streams. The rocks naturally hem the place in, and where they left gaps there Rob built his dyke, and the cattle were perfectly secure from straying.

THE SHEEP-PEN AND CATTLE-FANK.

The roof-trees were put up, as was often pointed out by the old people, and by those acquainted with such details, "in MacGregor fashion," and not in accordance with the fashion of the Campbell country. They decayed away gradually and fell in some years back, but for a long while the house was used by the shepherd of Ben Buic, at whose south-western base it is situated. There was always a wattled division

between the cottage and the place set apart for cattle, as was to be seen in every Highland cottage. These wattles were filled in with cow dung, as was usually the case. A second hiding hole is pointed out in the bed of the burn as having been used by MacGregor. In those days no crevice was despised, and a man has ample room to hide in this same spot, which no one would suspect to harbour anything larger than a badger. It is on the south-eastern side of Ben Buie, and within a walk of twenty minutes or less of MacGregor's house.

WALTER SCOTT ON THE MACGREGORS.

The great Border Minstrel's generous heart was fired by the wrongs of the MacGregors, and blazed into the fiery lines of the "MacGregor's Gathering"—wronges which, with some intermission, had gone on for one hundred and fifty years.

* All who are familiar with the poverty of the people at the period about to be referred to must know and acknowledge that the enforcement of the acts against the MacGregors became easy from non-compliance of individuals of that Clan. By the 30th Act of the first Parliament of Charles I. for "*The Timeous preventing* of disorders and oppressions " that *may fall out* by the said name and Clan" (MacGregor), it was enacted that *every one* of the name of MacGregor, on attaining the age of sixteen, should thereafter, *yearly*, repair to the Privy Council, where-soever they might happen to be, there to find caution for their good behaviour in all time coming; and, regardless of the general impossibility of complying with this order, if they failed to appear they were, in the bloom of youth and innocence, to be denounced *rebels* by the mere blowing of a horn; after which,

* See Stewart's "Highlanders;" Logan; Keltie; Browne's "History of the Highlands;" MacIntyre North's "True Highlander;" and other authorities.

any of His Majesty's "good" subjects might mutilate or slay them, not only without being brought before a Court of Justice for such act or acts, but with every prospect of reward. The Act concludes with holding out "The moveable goods and geare" of this maltreated people, to excite diligence in apprehending or destroying them. This had the effect that all men's hands were against them and the "Coin-Dubh," black dogs—bloodhounds—were used to hunt them down. They were often run to ground for the sake of the reward, it is declared.

In spite of such conduct in the reign of Charles I., James II. (James VII. of Scotland) could count on the loyalty of the clan.

Who dares cast a stone at such a people?

Walter Scott thought they had much to remember, though as a clan they *forgot* injuries rather than remembered or resented them on their King, as they looked on James II. (James VII. of Scotland).

MACGREGOR'S GATHERING.

"The moon's on the lake, and the mist's on the braise,
And the clan has a name that is nameless by day.

Then gather, gather, gather, Gregarich!

Gather, gather, gather!

"Our signal for fight, that from monarchs we drew,
Must be heard but by night in our vengeful hulloo.

Then hulloo Gregarich! hulloo, Gregarich!

Hulloo, hulloo, hulloo, Gregarich!

"Glen Orchy's proud mountains, Caolchuirn and her towers,
Glenstrae and Glenlyon no longer are ours:

We're landless, landless, landless, Gregarich!

Landless, landless, landless!

"But doomed and devoted by vassal and lord,
MacGregor has still both his heart and his sword!

Then courage, courage, courage, Gregarich!

Courage, courage, courage!

"If they rob us of name and pursue us with beagles,
Give their roofs to the flame, and their flesh to the eagles.

Then vengeance, vengeance, vengeance, Gregarich!

Vengeance, vengeance, vengeance!

“ While there’s leaves in the forest, and foam on the river
 MacGregor, despite them, shall flourish for ever !
 Come then, come then, come then, Gregarich !
 Come then, come then, come then !

“ Through the depths of Loch Katrine the steed shall career,
 O’er the peak of Ben Lomond the galley shall steer,
 And the rocks of Craig Royston like icicles melt
 Ere our wrongs be forgot, or our vengeance unfelt.
 Then gather, gather, gather, Gregarich !
 Gather, gather, gather,” etc.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND’S PICTURE OF THE FORTY-SECOND GRENADIER.

Having once established the fact that distinctive Clan Tartans were used long before the Battle of Kilsyth, and having proved that Clan Colours, the “Breacan” or Tartan, were habitually worn by the Clansmen during the “Forty-Five,” it is, perhaps, not needful to re-open the more intricate question as to the exact date when the Forty-Second Regiment ceased to wear the distinctive setts used when the regiment was first formed, and when that body was known as the Black Watch. But I will here touch on the question. We know that the various companies at first wore the distinctive Tartans *of their respective leaders*. A very remarkable proof of this has lately come to light, showing a Grenadier of the Forty-Second wearing the green kilt, with a red stripe, *i.e.*, the *red* stripe of the *Athole* Company through the green. The Grenadier wears the high peaked hat, and every detail of his dress shows the most minute and faithful reproduction of the costume.

This picture belonged to the Duke of Cumberland of Culloden days, and the artist who painted the picture was D. Morier, who painted the other uniforms of the British Army.

A copy of this picture is in the collection of the Marquis of Lorne. On the shoulder knot of the plaid of the kilted soldier the red lines running through the green Tartan re-appear.

Other Companies wore the sombre colouring so well known, but in the picture above named the Grenadier Company, at all events in the Duke of Cumberland's day, retained the distinctive Athole red stripe. The soldier wears the red and white diced hose, so familiar to all who know the original dress. This question, however, is one of regimental detail in dress. I have often said, in another work on this question, that throughout the Campbell country "Black Watch" and Campbell Clan colours are synonymous; in the Campbell country the women call the "Forty-Second" and Campbell identical. When the late Campbell of Islay was first measured for the Highland dress and first tartaned, the piper, a Campbell belonging to the family, went with him and picked out the correct Campbell Tartan, which was what Islay wore from that day forth; this piper's ancestor fought at Culloden. Campbell of Islay always declared "Forty-Second" and Campbell were one and the same thing, and if any one knew the correct sett it was this same piper.

The Campbell Tartan, identified by the late Mrs Lillias Davidson *née* Campbell as having been the same as worn by her Jacobite ancestor at Culloden, was the same as worn by Campbell of Islay, his father, Walter Campbell, and by all the Campbell gentry who used and now use the common Clan Campbell sett. This sett is also *always worn by the present* Chief of the Campbells.

The same sett was to be seen at the Edinburgh Military Exhibition in some old Tartan Dresses there exhibited.

Nothing is simpler for the weaver than to vary the threading, if so minded.

This occurs now and then in our own day, when mistakes and incorrect Tartans as to sett (correct enough as to colour) are produced and scattered broadcast, much to the bewilderment of many a haberdashery firm, and the consternation of those knowing in such matters.

Thus when, as asserted on the Black Watch being embodied in a new formation and dubbed "Forty-Second," a Tartan was chosen not exactly the same as a Clan Tartan, we are forced to conclude it must have had some peculiarity not now worn.* We are told it was the simplest of all patterns or setts. This cannot be said of the Campbell Tartan, which sett the "Forty-Second" Regiment most undoubtedly at this moment are wearing. This peculiarity may easily have been two dark stripes through every blue, not two dark through the blue, and four through the next, as now worn. Such variation would be quite enough to cause any one to assert, and justly to assert, that a Tartan was chosen belonging to no Clan. I have myself seen a Tartan manufactured in London and sold everywhere which had the two dark lines through every blue square, thus making a Tartan that was not a Clan Tartan.

To those accustomed to such nice distinctions, a glance suffices.

I trust these remarks will be pardoned by the members, past and present, of this splendid regiment, whose name is a household word in the mouths of all Scotchmen. I have been at pains to prove that the Campbell plaid or Clan colours worn at Culloden is the same as worn now, and in dealing with this subject it is impossible to avoid speaking of the "Forty-Second." No Campbell need blush to wear the same Tartan used by the "Forty-Second" Regiment, and the Regiment need not blush to be assured they wear what the Jacobite Campbell of Lochnell wore on the bloody field of Culloden.

Colonel David Stewart in his "Sketches" says "Lord John Murray gave the Atholl Tartan for the "philibeg. The difference was only a stripe of "scarlet," etc., etc. It is exactly this Athole stripe that appears in the Windsor Castle picture of the 42nd man.

* See full page illustrations in Grose's "Military Antiquities of
"Uniforms of this Regiment."

It was, as elsewhere noted, after the Battle of Dettingen that the artist Morier came to England—the battle was fought in 1743. Both King George and his son the Duke of Cumberland behaved with the courage of their race at this battle, and of Cumberland we may at least say that, with whatever harshness he behaved at Culloden, after the Battle of Fontenoy he declared no words of praise were sufficiently warm wherewith to extol the bravery displayed by the Highland troops. The touching request of the Highland troops will be remembered in answer to the Duke of Cumberland's promise to grant them what lay in his power. Here is the passage detailing the scene:—

“ On this occasion the Duke of Cumberland was so
 “ struck with the conduct of the Highlanders, and
 “ concurred so cordially in the esteem which they
 “ had secured to themselves both from friends and
 “ foes, that, wishing to show a mark of his appro-
 “ bation, he desired it to be intimated to them that
 “ he would be happy to grant the men any favour
 “ which they chose to ask, and which he could con-
 “ cede, as a testimony of the good opinion he had
 “ formed of them; the reply was worthy of so hand-
 “ some an offer. After expressing acknowledgments
 “ for the condescension of the Commander-in-chief,
 “ the men assured him that no favour he could bestow
 “ would gratify them so much as a pardon for one of
 “ their comrades, a soldier of the regiment, who had
 “ been tried by a court-martial for allowing a prisoner
 “ to escape, and was under sentence of a heavy
 “ corporal punishment which, if inflicted, would bring
 “ disgrace on them all, and on their families and
 “ country. This favour, of course, was instantly
 “ granted. The nature of this request, the feeling
 “ which suggested it, and, in short, the general
 “ qualities of the corps, struck the Duke with the
 “ more force, as, at the time, he had not been in
 “ Scotland,” etc, etc.*

* See Stewart's "Sketches."

THE CAMPBELL BREACAN OR CLAN COLOUR.

It is the duty of clansmen to see and keep the clan colours correct. It is common to see them badly reproduced, and not uncommon to see them wholly incorrect. I have shown what the Clan Campbell wore, and, as to my own people, they have a right to use the white stripes, which is confined to the chiefs of the Campbells and those in the entail.

The chiefs have the right to wear the white and yellow stripe.

ON THE GENERAL COLORATION OF CERTAIN CLAN COLOURS.

There is a minor point regarding the coloration of certain clan tartans which decidedly needs more than a cursory notice or a brief glance.

Let us take the Sutherland Clan. Here we have a clan wearing the same colours as the Campbells with sundry slight differences as to the number of threads forming the blue and green squares and lines, but the general coloration and arrangement so closely resembling each other that few but an adept can pronounce as to the difference.

The idea that the coloration may have had to do with Whig proclivities may at once be dismissed as the theory does not hold water.

In the days following the '45 we find Earl William of Dunrobin in the picture in the great Hall wearing the large sett of Sutherland Tartan with the belted plaid and the long scarlet coat of the regular army, the Highland coat as to cut and the English uniform as regards colour. This is a picture of remarkable charm, of good, firm draughtsmanship and masterly colour.

It will be seen that on Prince Charlie's side were many green kilted clansmen besides the Jacobite

Campbell of Lochnell; it is therefore evident that politics did not guide and had no hand in determining the colours of the various clans.

We must look to blood relationship as the cause of similarity and differentiation.

THE HIGHLAND DYES.

Pliny names the vaccinium as producing a splendid purple colour; this was no other than the common blaeberry which is common alike to the Italian Alps, the German Alps, the Mountains of the Black Forest, to Bohemia, and to the Highlands of Scotland. All who have indulged in this delicious fruit know the deep stain it at once imparts to the teeth and lips, and the beautiful purple it makes when mixed with milk. It is said that the hyacinth was used for red; the grain of the bramble produced scarlet; alder dyed a black; the willow produced a flesh colour;* the crotal was used to dye a pretty "crimson colour"—but here it is needful to remark that crimson is not the proper definition, crotal furnishes a colour resembling an amber brown or a sunny brown tending to red at times and shading into deep and splendid brown not unlike but richer than peat brown. "Vandyke brown," in the parlance of artists, is produced from the grey lichen with its underside of black so abundantly found all over Scotland and which can with the use of a knife be detached in large masses. This is one of the permanent dyes; rain and sun cause a slight fading in the course of time, but it causes only a beautified and golden-like discoloration, and that uniformly and not in patches. Rue was also largely used for red, and other plants went to compose those pigments with which the Caledonian women "wove" the robe for their love, making it like the bow of

* See "Logan's Scottish Gaël."

“ the shower.” Bullocks’ blood and lime made “ fine colours.”*

Every farmer’s goodwife was able to dye blue, red, green, yellow, black, brown, and their compounds.†

NOTES ON ARMS.

NINTH EARL OF ARGYLL AT DUMBARTON: THE DISLIKE OF THE HIGHLANDER TO NEW-FANGLED WEAPONS.

In the year 1670 Argyll tried to persuade a Highlander to adopt the pike. I have elsewhere given some notes concerning Highland arms, and here I give the difficulty experienced by Argyll in arming Highlanders in a new fashion.

From the letters to Lord Lauderdale from the ninth Earl of Argyll at the British Museum I extract the following:—

“ Dumbarton, 12 May, ’70.

“ My Lord,—I am heere at a randevous of the “ two companies of the militia of this shire and I “ am hopful whenever they are seene they will be “ thought pretty men; the colonel you may be sure “ is the least of the regiment.

“ I was urging a pike on a highlandman who likes “ it worse than a gentleman in France does a mus- “ quette, after I had used many persuasions and he “ many shifts, he swore he knew not how to kill a “ man with it which was so reasonable that I could “ not deny either to cause teach him or excuse him.”

The pike offered to the Highlander at Dumbarton by the Earl of Argyll must have been that used by the infantry throughout Europe, and certainly was not of the Lochaber-axe pattern. Had it been such the Highlander would have understood how to use it. A recent search through the arsenals of Switzerland and in the museums of that country disclosed the

* Logan’s “Scottish Gaël.”

† Logan.

fact that no single specimen of the Lochaber-axe had reached that country. The most ancient specimen of pike or halberd was wholly different. These collections contained specimens of the arms of almost all European nations, from the most archaic days.

THE EARL OF ARGYLL, MACLAINE, AND M'LEOD
IN MULL.

I also give some letters out of the same batch concerning the dredging operations in Tobermory Bay, Isle of Mull, for the guns sunk in the Spanish ship. They are as follow:—

“ Tobermorrie, 29th May, '69.*

“ My Lord,—At my arrivall heere M'Laine made
“ a greate busle but he hath since sent to get a pro-
“ tiction that he may come aboard because I have
“ him at the house which I have granted. M'Leod
“ came heere this morning when we drunke his
“ Maties health with such guns as we have and all
“ the Royale Family and did not forgette your L^op
“ and all frends at London; if the weather prove
“ favourable I hope in a few days to light on some
“ guns if not I resolve to leave workmen and retourne
“ to Inverary or to Roseneath where all my children
“ are at present.”

From Edinburgh dated “2 Jully '69” at the end of a letter about other matters the Earl says, alluding to the ship in Tobermory Harbour, “I have gotte up
“ two canone out of my Spanish ship.”

THE HARP (CLARSACH IN GAELIC) AND THE
GREAT HIGHLAND BAGPIPE.

It would be difficult to give the exact date of the introduction into Scotland of the bagpipe, but it was most undoubtedly in use in the Highlands in

* 1669.

the fifteenth century. It is also equally certain that the harp was used in the sixteenth century not only in the rude halls and banqueting rooms but also on the battlefield.

The harp most undoubtedly appears to have held precedence over the pipe up to that date.

Inasmuch as song and recitation by bards, to which the harp could be used as an accompaniment, was in daily vogue, it is not to be wondered at that it was held to be the noblest instrument of all.

That the bagpipe is of great antiquity is apparent to all students of architecture, for figures of persons playing on such an instrument are not infrequent in ecclesiastical buildings and on monuments of various kinds scattered throughout the British Isles and on the Continent (*vide* the fountain at Berne).

The custom of playing the great Highland pipe indoors is, so to say, entirely modern, and undoubtedly originated in the various Highland regiments who have ever made a rule of making the pipers play round the mess table. This custom, which obtained in regiments, has been followed by all who have pipers; a most picturesque interlude, and a joyous moment to those of Highland nationality. The same cannot always be said of the guests of southern extraction, whose criticism is at once silenced and confounded by the fierce wild hum and deep pulsation of the pipe.

"THE BOOK OF TRUE HIGHLANDERS."

In "The Book of True Highlanders" by the antiquarian and architect, Mr Macintyre North, there is a long passage connected with the harp, and he mentions in a note "J. Good in 1566 says :—

"They love music mightily, and of all instruments
"are particularly taken with the harp, which being

“ strung up with brass wires, and beaten with crooked
“ nails, is very melodious.”

“ Kirke, in 1691 says:—‘Irishmen, and northern
“ Scottish and Atholemen, are much addicted to and
“ delighted with harps and music.’”

The same author in an exhaustive critique on pipe
tunes mentions that of the Piobaireachd or laments
“ The MacRae’s March ” is one of the oldest known,
the date of the same being 1491.

Mr MacIntyre North speaks of the “ grace notes ”
in this instrument in the following passage which is
so valuable a *resumé* that I give it:—

“ We will next consider its capability for pro-
“ ducing melody. This capability, owing to the
“ small number of notes, is *seemingly* very limited, but
“ with the aid of ‘grace notes’ (the demi-semiquaver
“ is used as a grace note to give finish to the ground
“ work and variations, and also to enable the player
“ to repeat the same note in spite of the continuous
“ pressure of wind; the semibreve is not used in
“ pipe music) an almost unlimited variety of tunes
“ is obtained. The noblest and most ancient of
“ these are called Piobaireachd, and consist of the
“ Cruinneachadh, or gathering; Spaidsearach, or
“ Spaisdearachd, a parade or march; the Cuneha,*
“ or lament; the Failte, or salute,” etc. (Now
follows an explanation which will sorely puzzle all
southern readers but which describes the intricate
music.)

“ These Piobaireachd (peebrochs) generally consist
“ of the urlar or dominant melody, with variations, or
“ siubhlaichean, the first of which is the siubhal-
“ ordaig; then the Taor-luath Braebach, with Dub-
“ lachadh an Taor-luath; the Crun-luath Braebach
“ and Dublachadh a Chrun-luath, each title being
“ descriptive of, and, to a certain extent, appropriate
“ to, the piece. In playing a Piobaireachd the urlar
“ should be played twice at the commencement, and
“ once after each variation except the last.”

* *Cumha*, lamentation.

THE LAST OF THE HARPERS.

“ It is said that the last harper, Harie M’Gra from Largs, was the last recorded harper attached to a Highland troop; this was in the seventeenth century, and the last of the harpers in the retinue of a chief was Murdoch M’Donald who was with the M’Leans of Coll till about 1734.”

As to the knowledge required by the bards, the following will suffice.

OF SONG—THE HARP AND THE PIPE.

“ In the earliest Irish MS. mention is made of three different kinds of music. The Golltraidheacht, a festive and martial measure; the Geannttraidheacht, or sorrowful measure; and the Suantraidheacht, or soothing measure.”

OF FUNERAL SONGS.

“ The cuneha or lament, such as Gaoir nam Ban Muileach, and the Caoine” is mentioned by Mr MacIntyre North as a good example. “ This,” he says, “ is a peculiarly wild dirge sung by the followers at a funeral, and was performed by one or two while an accompaniment was hummed by the remainder of those present.”

THE IORRAM

“ Is sung while labouring at the oar.”

“ The lively ‘oran luadhaidh’ formerly sustained the exertions of the lasses when engaged in waulking the cloth; or the oran Bràth cheered those that laboured at the quern; while at the festive board the voice of cona is still heard, and time kept by the company joining plaids or handkerchiefs, and gently moving them backwards and forwards; in all, the

“ thread of the discourse is preserved by a leader who
 “ is relieved at certain frequent intervals by a chorus
 “ in which all heartily join.”

THE POWER OF SONG.

How is it that no artist has arisen to paint the splendidly picturesque scenes constantly enacted in the Highlands, where no hall was without song and music, for it was the custom to invite all present to play on the harp, and thus the “Children of the Mist” were wont to beguile the closing hours of day near some romantic lake or rushing torrent, or in some wild and savage glen, their huge hounds lying on the rush-covered floor; at the long table spread were seated the peer and the peasant, and when the huge drinking horns had been emptied they would be called on for the song or recitation—sung to sleep, it is declared, at times for days by the soothing measure of the “Suanttraidheacht.”

SONG AND THE “BOOK OF THE OLLAMHS.”

MR MACINTYRE NORTH ON THE SERVICES
 RENDERED BY MACPHERSON.

“ We have first referred to the simpler forms of
 “ melody, because they appeal more directly to the
 “ heart, while the more scientific—or, perhaps, we may
 “ say the more monotonous chant, laoidh, or marbh-
 “ rann—was particularly devoted to the recital of
 “ great deeds, to preserving the genealogy, or record-
 “ ing the possessions of the nobility. This class of
 “ composition was in great request in early days, for
 “ we find that a title to land was only good when it
 “ *had been sung for three generations*; and as many of
 “ the records were very lengthy, a simple melody was
 “ used to assist the voice in its laborious undertaking.

“ Specimens of these poems have luckily been
 “ handed down to us, one of the most celebrated of
 “ which, the *Laoidh Dhiarmaid*, is supposed by some
 “ to have had a mythological origin. As to who the
 “ author of some of the well-known poems was, we
 “ dare not venture to express an opinion, as the conse-
 “ quences of the inevitable ‘*glain dichinn*’ would be
 “ too terrible to endure. All that we will venture to
 “ say is, that the much belaboured MacPherson has
 “ *thoroughly earned* his resting place in Westminster
 “ Abbey, for had he not called attention to these
 “ poems, the placidity (or stupidity) of Johnson would
 “ not have been disturbed, *we* should have lost the
 “ valuable discussions that have since arisen on the
 “ subject, and all the precious relics of a long-
 “ forgotten civilisation would have been lost in the
 “ eager scramble of modern life.

“ The importance of the poem in early days was
 “ such, that the greater part of the time spent in
 “ Druidical Colleges was taken up in learning
 “ poems of various characters. The ‘Book of the
 “ ‘Ollamhs’ gives the following as the course of
 “ study.

“ *First Year’s Study*—Fifty oghams, the *araicecht*,
 “ or grammar of the pupils, twenty tales, and some
 “ poems.

“ *Second*—Fifty more oghams, six minor lessons in
 “ philosophy, thirty tales, and some poems.

“ *Third*—Learning the correct diphthongal combi-
 “ nations, the six minor lessons of philosophy, forty
 “ tales, and various poems.

“ *Fourth*—Fifty tales, *Brèthà Nemidh*, or law of
 “ privileges; twenty poems called ‘*Enan*.’

“ *Fifth*—Sixty tales, and critical learning of adverbs,
 “ articles and other niceties of grammar.

“ *Sixth*—Twenty-four great *Naths*, twenty-four small
 “ ditto (certain kinds of poems), the *secret language* of
 “ the poets, and seventy tales.

“ *Seventh*—The *Brosnacha* of the *Sai* (professor) and
 “ the *Bardesy* of the *Bards*; for these the poet is

" obliged to know, and so they are the study of the
" seventh year.

" *Eighth*—Prosody or versification of the poets,
" meaning of obscure words (or glosses), the various
" kinds of poetry; the Druidical or incantatory com-
" positions, called Teinm Laeghdha, Imbas Forosnai,
" Dichetal Dichennaibh; the knowledge of Dinnsean-
" chus, or topography, and all the chief historical tales
" of Ireland, such as were to be recited in the presence
" of Kings, chiefs, and good men.

" *Ninth and Tenth*—Forty Lennats, fifteen Luascas,
" seven Nenas; an Eochraid of sixty words, with their
" appropriate verses; seven Sruths, and six Duili
" Fedha.

" *Eleventh*—Fifty great Anamains, fifty minor
" ditto. The great Anamain was a species of
" Poem which contained four *different measures of*
" *composition*, namely, the Nath, the Anair, Laidh,
" Eman, and was composed by an Ollamh only.

" *Twelfth*—Six score great Ceatals (measured
" addresses or orations) and the four arts of poetry,
" viz., Laidcuin mae Barceda's art, Ua Crotta's art,
" O'Bricne's art, and Beg's art.*

" The mention of different measures of composi-
" tion in the foregoing would seem to imply that the
" Druids had well defined rules on the art of com-
" position, a celebrated rule was narrow to narrow (caol
" re caol, aqus leathan re leathan), but a few examples
" will be sufficient to prove that in later times the
" character of the composition was greatly influenced
" by the temperament of the composer, or the nature
" of the emotion he was labouring under at the time,
" and we must consider them rather as the outcome
" of vivacious genius, acting on an intelligence already
" strongly imbued with traditions, than as the result of
" any scientific reasoning or rule in the modern sense
" of the word."

No apology need be offered for the long quotation
from Mr MacIntrye North's book, for we owe much to

* O'Curry.

his careful study and enthusiastic Highland sentiment concerning things Celtic.

GAELIC AT THE SCOTTISH COURT AND IN IRELAND.

Mr Brown* says—"The Gaelic had for centuries before the invention of printing ceased to be the language of the Court; and when that important discovery was made, it was limited to a small and isolated portion of Scotland. In Ireland, however, the Irish, as the Gaelic is termed in Ireland, continued to be spoken by all classes of the population for six hundred years after the Gaelic had ceased to be spoken at the Court of Scotland, and it was not till the reign of Elizabeth and James I. that the Irish nobility and gentry generally began to exchange their mother tongue for the English language. For this reason the Irish have more printed Gaelic works than the Scots."

In another passage Mr Brown says that "of the Celtic language there were at a very distant period seven dialects, viz., the Waldensian, the Armorican or Bas Bréton, the Cornish, the Welsh, the Manks, the Irish, and the Scottish Gaelic."

"The Basque, or Cantabrian, is considered by some philologists as a dialect of the Celtic, but although it contains many words from that language, these bear too small a proportion to the other words of a different origin, of which the Basque is chiefly composed, to entitle it to be classed among the Celtic idioms. With the exception of the Waldensian and Cornish, the other dialects are still spoken; but remains of the former exist in certain MSS. collected by Sir Samuel Morland, and preserved in the public library of the university of Cambridge, where they were lodged in the year 1658, and the latter has been preserved in books. Of these

* "Memorials of Argyll."

“ different dialects, the Waldensian, the Armorican,
 “ the Cornish, and the Welsh form one family, the
 “ parent of which was probably the idiom of Celtic
 “ Gaul, which, it is conjectured, was the same with
 “ the language of the ancient Britons; while the close
 “ affinity between the Manks, the Irish, and the
 “ Gaelic, shows that they are relics of the idiom
 “ spoken by the early inhabitants of Ireland. All
 “ these dialects are more or less allied, but those of
 “ Wales and Armorica are the most closely connected,
 “ and differ so little from each other that the
 “ natives of Brittany and Wales mutually under-
 “ stand each other. According to Lhuyd, a consider-
 “ able dissimilarity exists between the Welsh and
 “ Irish dialects; but he is mistaken in this idea, as
 “ out of 25,000 words in the Irish dictionary, 8,000
 “ are common words in Welsh. Besides, most of the
 “ general prefixes and terminations of the different
 “ classes of words used by the Irish are also in the
 “ Welsh, and the two dialects also agree in various
 “ affinities of idioms and construction.”

THE MENTION OF “ATHOLE BROSE” BY THE EARL OF ARGYLL, A.D. 1668.

The Earl of Argyll, writing to Lord Lauderdale on a variety of matters, on the salting of herring among other things, says, “our neighbours in Perth-
 “ shire supe their aquavite* with honey and call it
 “ brose.”

AQUA VITÆ IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

One of the commonest presents made by the Highlanders to relatives or friends in the south during the 17th century was “aqua vitæ,” otherwise uisge-beatha, or what is commonly called whisky.

* Whisky.

Trestarig is whisky three times distilled, uisge beatha baul is four times distilled.*

Whisky illicitly distilled is called by the Irish "potteen," "pot Dhu" in the Highlands—that is, small pot and the black pot, from the vessel in which the mash is boiled.†

DRINKING CUSTOMS AMONG THE CELTS.

Deep potations from the earliest times were indulged in by the Celts. The chiefs, it is asserted, kept whole horns chiefly to be offered to visitors, partly out of compliment and partly to make trial of their drinking capacities. Failure to empty the horn at a draught was betokened by the noise made in the sinuosities, on which all the company called out "corneigh" (the horn cries), and the person drinking was obliged to refill and "drink Celtic."‡

It was brought over the elbows and so drunk off. Such a horn was preserved at Dunvegan, and doubtless is there now, together with other curiosities kept by the present chief.

The scallop shell was used for the choicest liquors, the thumb being placed on the flat or hinge part, which was often covered with silver.

LOGAN ON DRINKING CUSTOMS.

In all countries in bygone ages the cup-bearer's was a high office, and so it was with the Gaël, as this duty was to taste all the liquor offered at the feasts, and the smith had the right to a draught of all liquor brought to a king's table. When a guest sat down at the table of a Highland chief, he was first presented with a draught of uisge beatha out of the cup or shell, after which a horn of ale containing a quart was

* Martin.

† Logan.

‡ Foulis, in "Trans. of Scots Antiquaries," vol. i.

given him. If able to negotiate this he was reckoned a good fellow.

That the Highlanders were wont to carouse is undoubtedly true, and wine often tempted them to its immoderate use; so much so, that acts were passed limiting the amount allowed. But it is fair to remember that an old proverb speaks the contempt of the Highlander for those who meet alone for the sake of drinking.*

THE FEUDAL SUPERIOR.

That the feudal superior had not always the power to call out the clan is known. As an instance of this, the Duke of Gordon was feudal superior over lands held by the Cameron Clan, the M'Phersons, M'Donalds of Keppoch, and others. He had, however, no influence over these clans, who always obeyed the orders of Lochiel, Cluny, Keppoch, etc. (*see* Browne's "History of the Highlands," vol. i., p. 128). The feudal system enabled the chiefs and many clans to be wholly independent of the various governments. When we consider the state of the Highlands before Marshal Wade and his pick-axes got to work this is not astounding. The whole country was like what many parts of America and Canada present to the eye to this day if the traveller journey by canoe, say, up into the silent and impassable wildernesses.

MRS GRANT WRITING ON THE SUPERSTITIONS OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

Here is a passage concerning the chiefs and the people:—"In many minds the idea of a Highland chief is associated with that of a domineering tyrant who plunders and oppresses his people. This notion is extremely fallacious. Nothing," says Mrs Grant,

* Logan.

“can be more erroneous than the prevalent idea that
 “ a Highland chief was an ignorant and unprincipled
 “ tyrant, who rewarded the abject submission of his
 “ followers with relentless cruelty and rigorous oppression.

“If ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was curbed and directed by the elders
 “ of his tribe, who, by inviolable custom, were his
 “ standing counsellors, without whose advice no
 “ measure of any kind was decided.

“To condemn the old system is to condemn all
 “ that appertained to the ancient ways and customs;
 “ to condemn the ways of a chief is to condemn the
 “ ways also of the people—the two were inseparable.”

CONCLUSION.

All nations have had beautiful dresses, and unfortunately these in many countries have long since fallen into disuse. May we Highlanders be careful never to let our own picturesque dress be among the things of the past—a fate that has overtaken the costumes of so many peoples all over the world, not excepting that wonderful nation the Japanese, who appear to have been overwhelmed with a vast wave of bad taste, and who of late have dropped their own splendid national dresses for the finery of the Parisian Boulevard as regards the ladies, and gold and silver lace and cocked hats of Europe as regards the men. Let us retain the Breacan—the coat armorial of our land—nor seek to invent new tartans. We cannot hope to rival the skill attained by our ancestors as regards the blending or coloration of the threads. All that has been attempted of late in the way of new tartans has ended in lamentable failure. I do not here allude to what is called “house checks;” these cannot be classed as tartans, and are not worth naming. We can no more improve on the taste displayed in olden days, than can the

modern American compete with the colours produced and costume worn by the Sioux, the Blackfeet, and other tribes of Indians. There is a savage beauty and harmony in their work and dress which no modern European can hope to rival, and there is a splendour in the colours of the "Breacan" that no modern can ever hope to rival either.

We should love every thread and check that speaks of the olden days and the land so dear to the "Children of the Mist;" that speaks of the halcyon days of youth, spent on the hillside or among the delicious woods, or beside the moor lochs or amber-coloured stream; reminding us of some great event—the stirring days of the Crimea, the Indian Mutiny, and Egyptian campaigns wherein kith and kin were engaged. Let us keep these emblems sacred, and, wearing them with "modest pride," teach those who are to follow us to love them as they have been loved and cherished by us.

APPENDIX.

CONSTANT reference has been made in these pages to Stewart's "Sketches," and with reference to many statements made by that officer it may be well to quote from Letter II., a pamphlet brought out by John Hislop, Greenock, in 1832 containing some valuable remarks on a variety of points connected with Stewart's researches.

Speaking of the events preceding the Athole raid into Argyllshire the author says :—

"As to the skirmish between the Athole men and Argyllshire men, near Loch Tay, mentioned by General Stewart as 'a kind of drawn battle,' I am persuaded the gallant General stated it as it was reported to him. I did not notice it in my letter, because I then knew nothing of it, though I did not give it entire credit, believing it one of many incidents collected by the worthy General from the partial tales and traditions of his countrymen. A short time ago, however, I got a very different account of it, which I consider deserving of credit. Among the songs of Iain Lom, the celebrated Jacobitish bard of M'Donald, there is a lament on the defeat of the Athole men on this occasion. I will allow that if Iain Lom had represented it as a victory obtained by his friends, I would not have considered it satisfactory evidence, because he might have indulged the poet's licence in celebrating their achievements; whereas, his admissions that make against them may be credited to the fullest extent, more particularly as, next to his chief, M'Donald, the Marquis of Athole seems to have been the greatest object of his admiration and praise.

"The collection, which contains this lament (page 60), was made by Patrick Turner, and published by T. Stewart of Edinburgh, in 1813 by subscription, the list of which is very long, containing near 2000 copies, so that the book can be easily traced by 'Celt' (Iain Lom or John MacDonald of the family of Keppoch)* or any other who is anxious to see the particulars of the skirmish, which are hurried over in the poem. And in page 64 of the same collection,

* The writer whose statements are dealt with in this pamphlet.

we find a song by the same bard, exulting in the revenge taken by Stewart of Balachan, with his party, when the murders* already spoken of were committed at Inveraray. The dedication of this book to Lord M'Donald says that it contains a recital of the *exploits of the warriors of our country in ancient times*," etc., etc.

THE DEFEAT OF THE ATHOLE MEN AND TAKING OF BLAIR ATHOLE.

"From these compositions, it appears that the men of Athole made an inroad into Argyllshire, and having rendezvoused at Benbuy, near Inveraray, they were beset by the Argyll men, who pursued and overtook them at Loch Tay, and, after routing them completely, proceeded to Athole, and, among other irregularities, took and burnt the castle of Blair Athole.

"The first-mentioned song or lament is entitled, 'oran air blar Tomaphubaill, eidear na h'Earragha-'laich's na h'Athollaich, le Iain Lom, 'se giomadar nach robh Moir-fhear Chlann Donuill aig an tigh, gu cuideacha 'leis na h-Athollaich, agus na h-Earragha 'laich air faotainn buaidh;' which may be Englished thus,—'Song on the battle of Tomaphubaill, between the Argyll men and the Athole men, by John Lom, and regretting that Lord M'Donald was not at home, to assist the Athole men, the Argyll men having obtained the victory.'

"Then comes Iain Lom's song of revenge thus worded 'oran le Iain Lom, air Latha Blair na h'Airdereanaich † aig founhuraora, far an d' fhuair na h'Athollaich buaidh aun an eirig latha Tomaphubaill.' It may be translated thus,—'Song by John Lom, on the battle of Airdereanaich, at Inveraray where the Athole men obtained the victory, in retaliation of the battle of Tomaphubaill.'"

CAMPBELL OF STONEFIELD'S STATEMENT.

In the same pamphlet before alluded to there is a passage on the dress of the rebel army.

"In my first letter, page 9, I have said, that I had 'seen a statement, drawn up in 1747, by a gentleman of high respectability, who was in correspondence with the heads of the Government departments,

* The hanging of the sixteen gentry by Athole at Inverary.

† "'Ardreanich' or 'Fern point' was the old name of the point of land, on which the new town of Inveraray, built within the last 80 years, stands."

and was considered one of the most active and intelligent magistrates in the Highlands of Scotland, at that period, and he computes from the best information he was able to collect, the number of Highlanders who took up arms, only at 5000 men, though nearly the whole rebel army were dressed in the Highland garb.' The gentleman here alluded to was Archibald Campbell, Esq., of Stonefield, then Sheriff of Argyllshire."

HUMANITY DISPLAYED BY THE DUKE OF ARGYLL TOWARDS THE "CHILDREN OF THE MIST."

After the rebellion of 1715 Argyll was treated ill by the Government for not having acted with greater severity. He was disgraced and deprived of all the public appointments he held. The only irregularity which took place was the burning of Auchterarder in Perth, by command of the Pretender, James, who landed in Scotland soon after the Battle of Sheriff-Muir. This was done lest the King's army, commanded by Argyll, who was in pursuit of the rebels, should derive any supplies from it.

" Nothing could exceed the gentleness and moderation shewn by Argyll in pursuing and dispersing the rebels on that occasion."* The exclamation made by Argyll, when he saw the cavalry pursuing and cutting the "lads" down, is little likely to be forgotten—"Oh! spare the poor Blue Bonnets."

NAMES OF THE CLANS WHO WERE LET LOOSE OVER THE CAMPBELL LANDS WHEN ARGYLL HAD BEEN BEHEADED, 1685-1686.

The Marquis of Athole and his retainers, including Struan Murray and Stewart of Ballequhan; the Duke of Gordon's men; the MacKays from Strathnaver; the Stewarts of Appin; the MacDonalds of Glencoe; the MacDonalds of Keppoch; the Camerons of Lochaber; the MacKenzies of Lochalsh; the Macleans of Lochbuy, Torloisk, Coll, Brolas, and Ardgour; the Macalisters from Tarbert; and the MacDuffies from Islay.

The whole population were forced to fly to the woods while their houses were pillaged and burnt.

* See pamphlet published by John Hislop, Greenock, 1832.

THE GLENMASAN MANUSCRIPT, NOW IN THE
ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, FORMERLY IN THE
ARDKINGLAS FAMILY'S POSSESSION.

The most interesting document found in Argyllshire is the famous Glenmasan MS. of which Mr Archibald Brown of Greenock gives, perhaps, the clearest account. It is of such importance as a relic of the early writings of the "Children of the Mist" that I need offer no apology for a long quotation from Mr Brown's book, published by James M'Kelvie & Sons, Greenock, 1889.

THE GLENMASAN MANUSCRIPT.

"This manuscript has been more often referred to than any other bearing on the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.

"The other kindred heroic tales and poems are so uncertain in their dates, so indefinite as to the names of persons and places, and, having no confirmation from contemporary annals, cannot be considered history. But the great antiquity of the Glenmasan MS. is universally owned, and the place names in the poem of Deirdri are pretty easily recognised.

"This chapter I shall divide into four sections.

"*Section First*—Describes the Glenmasan MS., its discovery, appearance, antiquity, and transmission to modern times.

"*Section Second*—Describes the Collegiate Church of Kilmun, its patron saint and founders.

"*Section Third*—Describes the popularity of the tale of Deirdri, and gives the several versions of her valedictory poem and versified tale.

"*Section Fourth*—States the futile attempts to connect the names in the tale and poem of Deirdri with the history of the Picts before the arrival of the Scots in Argyll.

"This manuscript was accidentally discovered by Lord Bannatyne of Kames, in the district of Cowal. In a letter to Mr Henry MacKenzie, Chairman of the Highland Society, Lord Kames says :—' I took occasion, on going to the Circuit at Inveraray, to call on the Rev. John MacKinnon, of Glendaruel, and asked him if he had seen the Kilbride MSS. He told me he had not, but that he had by him a Gaelic MS., got from the country people in the neighbourhood, which appeared to him very ancient, and though he could not easily read it, on account of its numerous contractions, he found it to contain histories, tales, and poems. (Highland Society's Report, pp. 282-283.)

"This ancient document is now deposited in the Advocates' Library,

Edinburgh. Through the kindness of the librarian, I was permitted several years ago to look over its pages. In its present state it contains twenty-five large quarto leaves of strong vellum, besides the skin cover.

"Its pages are divided into columns extending in all to ninety-six and two halves, about thirty-eight lines to the column.

"Some of the leaves are rudely stuck together, and some are misplaced, others are much injured by improper keeping, and it is probable some of the leaves are lost, but where the parchment has been well preserved the text is sufficiently legible. It is closely and beautifully written, and the character of the writing is the Celtic style of the thirteenth century, which abounds in contractions. The late Mr Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, pronounced it of that era, and so did Mr Astle, in his specimen of the origin of writing, class this style as of that period (*see* Table XXII., p. 128. London, 1784). Regarding its transmission, the editor of the Highland Society's Report, says :—' It appears from a note on the margin of the fifteenth leaf of the MS. that it formerly belonged to the Rev. William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan and Dalavich, who was a native of Cowal, and to whom it had descended, perhaps from his granduncle, Mr Robert Campbell, an accomplished scholar and poet, who wrote the eighth address prefixed to the archæologia of Mr Edward Lloyd' (p. 297). It will further indicate the transmission of this document to give a brief account of these two gentlemen. In Scott's 'Fasti' we find the following notice of Mr William Campbell :—' William Campbell, son of William Campbell, minister of Kilmoran, licensed by the Presbytery of Dunoon, 19 June, 1740, and ordained by them 7 June 1743, as missionary of Strachur, presented to the parish of Kilchrenan and Dalavich by Archibald, Duke of Argyll, in July 1744, and admitted 17 July 1745, died 26 Sept. 1793, in his 80th year and 51st of his ministry; he inherited, but did not assume, the title of Campbell of Ardkinlas,* Bart.' In this short biography we learn that the Rev. Mr Campbell was born and bred in Glendaruel, and that he was heir to the title of Ardkinlas, consequently his granduncle would be of the same stock. The Argyll family were in the habit of appointing the younger members of the proprietors in Cowal as the chief keepers of the forest of Benmore. Mr Robert Campbell was of their number.

"Prefixed to his complimentary address to Mr Edward Lloyd, we find him styling himself 'Raibert Caimbeul, Fear Fairiste Mhic Chailean, an Comhal C.C.' That is—'Robert Campbell, Forester to Campbell of Argyll, in Cowal, Sang.'

"'Robert Campbell' is written in a beautiful hand on the MS., and,

* Ardkinglas.

besides the two Campbells, several other names are scrawled on it. I come now to show the connection of the Campbells of Ardkinlas with the parish of Kilmun. After the college of Kilmun was endowed by Sir Duncan Campbell in 1442, the Campbells got a firm footing in Cowal, and before the Reformation they were paramount there, and had royal favours conferred on Kilmun. In the year 1550, we find Archibald, Master of Argyll, with the consent of Earl Archibald, his father, renewing a grant of Ardnadam, Dunlosken, and other lands in the bailiery of Cowal to Colin of Ardkinlas, his kinsman, on condition that the said Colin would give homage and personal service, with a ship of eight oars and one of six oars for the service of the said Archibald when required, with half the ward and relief of the lands, and the whole marriage when it should occur, the mill of Dunlosken to be shared between the granter and the holder in profits, construction, and multure. (Or. Par. Scot., Parish of Kilmorich.)

"This curious compact was made in the neighbourhood of Kilmun, ten years before the Reformation. When that memorable event took place, in the scrimmage that followed, it may be inferred that Ardkinglas would not be slow to secure its share of spoil. The papers of such an eminent institution would be considered amongst its most valuable treasures, and it is probable that the MS. had been carried to Ardkinlas for safety, and remained there till disinterred by Mr Rob. Campbell, the deer forester of Benmore, in the parish of Kilmun. Glenmasan being about the centre of the forest, it is likely that Rob. Campbell had his residence there, and gave the MS. the title on the skin cover:—'Gleann Masain an cuige la deag do an . . . mh : : : do bhlian ar t'searse mile da chead trichid sa hocht.' That is — 'Glenmasan, the 15th day of the . . . of m : : : of the year of our Redemption, 1238.'

"Section Second.

"THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF KILMUN.

"I come now to show that the Church or College of Kilmun had been founded and was in existence at the early age of writing of the Glenmasan MS., indicating that this document had been written by the monks serving there. Some will think that this idea is a delusion, as all modern gazetteers, ecclesiastical statistics, and guide-books declare that this church had been originally founded about the year 1442, by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, commonly called Donachadh-an-aidh, or the fortunate — the first of that family who assumed the title of Argyll. It is true that Sir Duncan endowed

this church with lands to the extent of nineteen marks, which was a handsome gift in those days. Nevertheless, he seems to have made a remarkably good bargain with the monks for his money. The deed says:—‘It secured the salvation of the souls of King James I. and of Joanna his Queen, and the special salvation of Sir Duncan’s departed wife Marjory, and of his present wife Margaret, and of his first begotten son, Celestine, and of all his predecessors and successors.’ . . . People are very ready to confound two different things — founding and endowing. Sir Duncan only endowed an existing church; Lamont of Cowal founded it two hundred years previously.

“In tracing the early history of this church, there are four topics relating to it that require a few remarks, namely—

The Patron Saint.

The Church.

The Founders.

The Inmates.

“THE PATRON SAINT.

“According to Adomnan, the original name of the saint was Fintan, Munn being an assumed name. He is said to have resolved to leave Ireland and go to Columba in Iona, but he arrived there after the death of the saint. Fintan returned to Ireland, and founded there Teach-munna and other churches; and it is said that the churches of Saint Munn in Loch Leven and Kilmun in Cowal were dedicated to him. The Aberdeen Breviary, which is considered a great authority on saintship, gives the life and legend of Saint Munn, which is translated from the Latin and inserted in the appendix.

“THE CHURCH OF KILMUN.

“Regarding the Church of Kilmun, Dr Skene, in his recent work, ‘Celtic Scotland,’ says that ‘the Church of Kilmun was founded by Fintan-Munna of Teach-Munna, in Ireland, about the beginning of the seventh century; that it is the only Columban or Culdee church in Argyllshire; all the other churches were founded after the Romish system was introduced into Scotland by Malcolm Canmore and his wife and family.’ (Vol. II., chap. ix, pp. 410–411). This statement requires a great amount of faith to bridge it over for six hundred years. For there is no evidence that Fintan Munna had a successor in Kilmun till the dawn of its history, early in the thirteenth century. But if we take the latter period as its true origin, we

will find that the Church of Kilmun is among the earliest foundations in Argyllshire.

"Before referring to the founders and the gifts conferred, it will be necessary to show what led them to do so. The introduction of the feudal system and that of the Romish Church into Scotland were coeval, and their success depended on their mutual co-operation. 'Every Lord's manor became a parish, and the Church divided the respect of the people with the Castle.' (Cosmo Innes, 'Middle Ages,' chap. iv., p. 132. Edinburgh, 1860.)"

Mr Archibald Brown goes on to say that "the Romish clergy easily replaced the Columban or Culdee order that preceded them, and seized all places claimed for sanctity. This was not very difficult for them to do, for we are told that 'at this period, from internal decay and external change, the old Celtic Church, whose chief seat was at Iona, was hastening to an end. The last of the old abbots there, of whom we have any notice, died in the last year of the eleventh century, and for upwards of fifty years we have an unbroken silence regarding Iona.' (Skene, 'Celtic Scotland,' vol. ii., chap. vii.)

"The introduction of the Romish system into Argyllshire took place about the end of the twelfth century. Cosmo Innes says:— 'early in the twelfth century the Cluniac Monks were introduced into Scotland, planted first at Paisley by the Stewarts, and before the end of it had possession of Iona. The remains of ecclesiastical buildings on the island are theirs, which we need not hesitate to place at their true date, the beginning of the thirteenth century. ('Scotland in the Middle Ages' chap. x., p. 293.)

"This will lead us to see what led the donors to confer their gifts, and also how so many church grants in Argyllshire were conferred on the monastery of Paisley.

"At this period the four principal families in Argyllshire were the proprietors of the MacDonalds of Kintyre, the MacDougalls of Lorn, the Lamonts of Cowal, and Sween of Kintyre and Knapdale. These families apparently saw that unless they patronised the church liberally, they would be supplanted by the strangers who were swarming over and seizing the country.

"Reginald, the son of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, was the first patron of the Romish Church in Argyllshire. In 1202, he founded at Saddell a religious house for Cistercian or White Monks (Orig. Par. Scot.), and according to a deed which still exists at the Vatican, in the year 1203 he established the Benedictines or Black Monks in

Iona, also a nunnery there for Black Nuns, of which his sister Beatrice was the first prioress ('Celtic Scotland,' vol. ii. chap. vii.).

" Duncan MacDougall of Lorn founded the priory of Ardochattan for Monks of the order of Vallis Caullium. In after years it was resolved to remove the seat of the Bishops partly to the Island of Lismore, where it was endowed in 1251 by Eugenius, the son of Duncan. Dufgal, the son of Sween of Knapdale and Skipness, was not unmindful of the Paisley fraternity.

" THE FOUNDERS.

" I come now to the donations of the Lamonts of Cowal and Argyll proper; and as their gifts have a circumstantial bearing on the evidences of the Glenmasan MS., I will quote freely from the original charter.

" The first gifts of this family were bestowed on the monks of Paisley between the years 1230 and 1246, and run thus: — ' Duncan, son of Ferchar, and Laumun, son of Malcolm, grandson of said Duncan, pray for eternal salvation in the Lord to all the sons of the holy Mother Church, to those living at present as well as to those in time to come. Know that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter, confirmed to God and to Saint James and to Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving God, the church of Kilinan for pure and perpetual charity, with all its just pertinents, together with every right which has appertained to us in the exercise of our patronage. We have given them also the pennyland of Kilmor, which lies above Lochgilp, with the chapel of Saint Mary built on said land. Further, we have conferred and granted to the aforesaid, from motives of piety, those three halfpenny lands which we and our predecessors possessed at Kilmun with the fishings and all others, their just pertinents and pendicles, and with the whole right which belonged to us in the church of Kilmun in respect of the patronage.

" 'To be held and possessed freely and peaceably, as they hold and possess other charitable bequests given to them freely and peaceably. These being witnesses, Lord Walter, son of Alan, justiciary seneschal of Scotland; Lord Malcolm, son of the Count of Lennox; Lord Simon Fleming, and Lord Hugh, his brother; Luke, chaplain of Paisley; Roger, seneschal of Paisley; Nachten, rector of the church of Kilinan; Roger, vicar of Kilbarchan, Alexander of Smalham, and William of Cadiou, and many others.' (Regis. Monas. de Passelet, p. 132.)

" We thus see the possessions of Duncan, the son of Ferchar, and of

Laumun, his grandson, extended from Lochgilp to Kilmun. Their grants at first were jointly conferred, but afterwards they acted independently, and finally branched into two families. The family of Angus, the son of Duncan, retained the lands beyond Loch Fyne, and that of Laumun, those of Cowal, and perhaps a part of Bute.

“ Angus, the son of Duncan, confirmed the grant of Kilmore at Paisley on the day of March succeeding the discovery of the Holy Cross in the 1270th year of grace, and in the same year he grants a deed of sasine and possession on the Wednesday immediately following the translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr.

“ In the confirmation of Kilmore, Angus refers to the original grants by saying :—‘ These things being excepted which belong to the foresaid Laumun or his heirs, or may belong to them.’ (*Ib.* pp. 133–137.)

“ Malcolm, the son of Laumun, gave, granted, and confirmed to the monks of Paisley the halfpenny lands in connection with the church of Killenan, for pure and perpetual alms, and for the salvation of the souls of his forefathers. This charter was granted at Paisley on the day of Sabbath, on the morrow of Saint Mary Magdalene’s, in the year of grace 1295 (*Ib.* p. 138). In the triple gifts to the monks of Paisley we do not learn the motives that prompted the donors to give the pennylands and church of Kilmore above Lochgilp, but we learn that the church and land of Kilinan were given for charity, and the donor stipulates for the salvation of the souls of his forefathers, which is the first exaction of this family that we read of.

“ The gifts to the church of Kilmun were given from motives of piety and without any consideration, and were commensurate with the requirements of a seat of learning in those days. The deed says ‘ we have conferred and given to God and to Saint James and Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving God, from motives of piety those three halfpenny lands which we and our predecessors possessed at Kilmun, with the fishings and all others, their just pertinents and pendicles, and with the whole right which belonged to us in the church of Kilmun in respect of patronage. To be held and possessed freely and peaceably, as they hold and possess any charitable bequests given to them freely and peaceably.’

“ We have here the true date of the foundation of the collegiate church of Kilmun, between the years 1230 and 1246, and not that alleged to Sir Duncan Campbell. People, nowadays, smile at the nominal value of the money granted, but this is a mistake, as it represented a great deal in those days. The three halfpenny lands seem to have embraced the whole of Strathachie, which we find afterwards (1362) described as Keanloch—Kilmun (*Orig. Par. Scot.*). In

the pertinents and pendicles of the grants are included three famous fishing streams, also an extensive orchard, the site of which is still pointed out, and from which a farm derives its name.

“THE INMATES.

“ After the ample provision made for the sustenance of the Kilmun college, it is surprising that none of the inmates appear as witnesses to the bequests. But we must remember the first work of the monks of Paisley was to prepare the institution, and that of the lay patrons, Duncan and Laumun, was to endow the same; the appointment of the inmates, as a matter of course, followed. Such was the case in other places. We read that Dryburgh Abbey obtained a charter of confirmation from King David I., and the cemetery was consecrated on Saint Martin’s Day, 1150, that no demons might haunt it, but that the community did not come into residence till 13th December 1152.

“ Although the monks of Paisley on several occasions attempted to introduce into Argyllshire foreign orders of monks, they do not seem to have taken root there. Ireland was the resort for instruction, literature, and written languages, from the dawn of history, and of this era Skene, in his ‘Celtic Scotland,’ says:—‘The rise of the Celtic Chief Somerled, and the foundation of the dynasty of Gaelic Lords of the Isles in his immediate descendants, renewed the intercourse with Ireland (which was interrupted for two and a half centuries by the Lochlannich), and we find that during the three centuries while those powerful Kinglets ruled over the Western Highlands and Islands (1156–1478), there was not only a close political connection with Ireland, but the literary influence was equally close and strong, and Ireland was resorted to for instruction in the literature and written language of the country.’ (Vol. II. chap. x. pp. 459–460.) He further says:—‘The standard of the written Irish was introduced into the Highlands by the Scoto-Irish Monks. It became the language of the church, the monastery, and the school.’ (Chap. X. pp. 457–458).

“ There is strong circumstantial evidence that the first colony of monks planted at Kilmun was Irish. The document of which I am treating is evidently the remains of their library. Although Glenmasan is written among the local names given in the lay of Deirdri, it is a mistake to suppose that this MS. was written at Glenmasan, as there never was a literary institute there.

“ The appellation is derived from its having Glenmasan written on the skin cover; this title is carelessly and coarsely executed in the Irish character, and likely to have been done when in possession o

the Ardkinlas family. The vellum MS., on the other hand, is written with the greatest care.

“ It commences with an embellished capital letter. Its paragraphs and transposed sentences are distinguished by red ink ; its contractions are most exact, and on the whole it is beautifully written, and such as would only be produced in those days by a practised scribe of the cloister.

“ I have already referred to this MS. being pronounced as having been written about the era of the date on the cover (1238). This date is not found in what now remains of the MS., but probably the leaf may have been lost ; yet it is noteworthy that the gifts of Laumun and his grandfather to Kilmun church had been conferred between the years 1230 and 1246, which agrees with the 1238 on the cover of the MS., and in the poem Deirdri is made to say :— ‘ Glenn Eitci, an do thogas mo ched tigh.’ (‘ Glen Eitci, where I reared my first house.’) The writer may refer to his first abode in Scotland, which would also coincide with the above dates.

“ But the contents of the MS. itself are the best proofs of its parentage, as, with the exception of the twenty lines occupied by the poem of Deirdri, the whole tale is but parts of the ‘Tain bo Cuilgne,’ the central romance of the heroic poems of Ireland. The heroic characters and geography are all Irish. Many copies of this tale were in existence in the Irish monasteries long prior to the founding of the college of Kilmun.

“ *Section Third.*

“ THE VALEDICTORY POEM OF DEIRDRI.

“ The popularity of the tale and poem of Deirdri arose from two causes. First, from the elegance of MacPherson’s edition ; and second, from its containing the valedictory poem with recognised topography, thus giving it an historical value.

“ ITS POETICAL BEAUTIES.

“ In a ‘Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian’ by Dr Hugh Blair (Edinburgh, 1765), this poem is characterised in the following strain :—‘The apostrophe to the winds in the opening of Darthula is in the highest spirit of poetry.’ After giving the quotation, he again says :—‘Having now treated fully of Ossian’s talents with respect to description and imagery, it only remains to make some observation on his sentiments,’ and he concludes by saying :—‘Let the poem of Darthula throughout be taken as an example of the poems of Ossian.’

"The tale of 'Deirdri' is one of the three sorrowful tales of the Irish. It is generally divided into two parts, 'The Loinges' or Exile, and 'The Oidheadh' or 'Tragedy of Deirdri and the Sons of Usnach.'

"The German linguist Windisch enumerates twenty-three versions and copies of this tale in Ireland. The 'Book of Leinster,' written about 1150, contains the earliest complete version of the tale.

"In Scotland the poem of 'Deirdri' has been considered of so much importance, owing to its place names, that there are about sixteen versions of it in print; ten of these are copies from the valedictory poem of Deirdri in the Glenmasan MS.; three are traditional versions from it; and three, versifications of parts of 'The Exile.'

"As the Glenmasan MS. appears to be the first version that gives the valedictory poem of 'Deirdri,' I insert a transcript of the poem from the MS. and afterwards give the other versions copied from it, according to their dates, as they appear in print."

*(Here follows a transcript from the original, now in the
Advocates' Library.)*

GAÉLIC.

The Highland Society's Version.

1805.

"Do dech Deardir ar a héise ar crichibh Alban . . .
agus ro chan an Laoidh—
'Inmain tir in tir ud thoir
Alba cona lingantaibh
Nocha ticfuinn eisdi ille
Mana tisain le Naise.
Inmain Dun Fidhgha is Dun Finn
Inmain in Dun os a cinn
Inmain Inis Draignde
Is inmain Dun Suibnei.
Caill cuan gar tigeadh Ainnle mo nuar
Fogair lim ab bitan
Is Naise an oirear Alban.
Glend Laidh do chollain fan mboirmin caoimh
Iasg is seing is saill bruich
Fa hi mo chuid an Glend laigh.
Glend Masain ard a crimh geal a gasain
Do nimais colladh corrach
Os Inbhar mungach Masain.
Glend Eitchi ann do togbhus mo ched tigh
Alaind a fidh iar neirghe
Buaille grene Ghlind Eitchi.
Mo chen Glend Urchaidh
Ba hedh in Glend direach dromchain
Uallcha feara aoisi ma Naise
An Glend Urchaidh.

Glend da ruadh
 Mo chen gach fear da na dual
 Is binn guth cuach
 Ar craeib chruim
 Ar in mbinn os Glenndaruadh.
 Inmain Draighen is tren traigh,
 Inmain Auichd in ghainimh glain
 Nocha ticfuin eise anoir
 Mana tisuinn lem Inmain.' ”

TRANSLATION.

“Darthula looked behind her towards the land of Albion,
 and raised her strain—
 ‘Lovely land is that Eastern land,
 Albion with all its lakes,
 O that I might not depart from it !
 But I depart with Naos.
 Lovely is the Tower of Fidga, and the Tower of Fingal.
 Lovely is the tower above them.
 Lovely the isle of Drayno,
 And lovely the tower of Suvno.
 But alas! the wood, the bay, which Ainle would approach
 Are left by me and Naos for ever,
 Upon the coast of Albion.
 O Vale of Laith ! would I were sleeping by its soothing
 murmur.
 Fish and venison, and the choice of the chase prepared,
 Would be my repast in Glenlaith.
 Glenmasan ! High grow its herbs, fair wave its branches,
 Steep would be the place of our repose
 Over the grassy banks of Masan.
 O Vale of Etha ! where a first house has been built for me,
 Delightful were its groves when the sun, risen to its height,
 Would strike his beams on Gleneiti.
 How I long for the Vale of Urchay !
 Straight vale of the fairest hills ;
 Joyful were his companions around Naos
 In Glenurchay.
 Vale of Daruadh !
 Pleasant to me would be each of its people :
 Sweet is the note of the cuckoo
 From the bending tree of the mountain
 Above Glen-da-Ruadh.
 Lovely is Drayno of the sounding shore !
 Lovely is Avich of the brightest sand !
 O that I might not depart from it west.
 But I depart with my love ! ’ ”

“The late J. F. Campbell of Islay has a version of this poem (1872), in ‘Leabhar na Feinne.’ He says—‘The story of Deirdri is related to Indian epics, and is an Aryan romance, which pervades the old world. A beautiful girl, shut up to baulk a prophecy, is beloved

by an old King. She runs away with a family of brothers, and, after adventures of many kinds, the story ends in a tragedy. In Ireland, the story of Deirdri and the three sons of Usnoch has been associated with the story of Cuchullin, King of Emania, ever since 1130.’”

DETAILS OF DRESS IN THE PICTURE OF THE INCIDENT.

It may puzzle some persons to observe that several of the figures in the “ Incident of the Scotch Rebellion ” picture wear two different Clan colours or Tartans.

When we remember that the various independent companies of the Black Watch adopted the Tartan of their respective leaders, no surprise need be felt as to this matter.

When the Clansmen “ came out,” they, no doubt, wore the Tartan of the leaders they fought under, wearing at the same time their own Clan colour in the jacket or in the kilt, which, doubtless, they already possessed.

A suggestion has been made that the Clansmen may have worn their maternal as well as paternal Clan colours. As the women did the weaving, no doubt many a mother, sweetheart, or sister may have given such Tartans to be worn habitually, and during the campaign especially.

THE HENCHMAN OR HAUNCH MAN.

It was customary with all Highland chiefs to have the HENCHMAN standing immediately behind their chair during the dinner hour and this invariable rule and custom, from which they never departed, was frequently a cause of annoyance to English officers and gentlemen visiting the Highlands during the eighteenth century. They could never habituate themselves to this custom and they complained “ no matter what the tenour of the conversation might be,” there stood the henchman.

In more ancient days the henchman watched the conversation we are informed lest offence should be given to his chief.

CELTIC AMAZONS AND SAINT COLUMBA.

Professor Mackinnon, in his admirable and beautiful series of letters published by the “ Oban Telegraph ” newspaper, treats exhaustively almost every topic that can be discussed concerning Celtic ways, life and

customs, etc., and he reminds us of the remarkable "remission" which Saint Columba obtained for the women, namely, that they should no longer fight side by side with the men in the constant wars they were engaged in. Till this remission was obtained they could be counted on in all Celtic affrays as a fighting force. "Slavery abounded among the people," says the Professor, and "polygamy was common." It is added that the remission obtained by Columba had to be re-enacted by Adamnan. Adamnan, it will be recollected, in his boyhood had conversed with many persons who had known the Saint.

Professor Mackinnon notes two peculiarities about Columba which are less known perhaps or remembered than others. The first peculiarity named is the extraordinary quality of the Saint's voice which had such carrying power, or, as the French say, "*timbre*," that he could be understood when preaching by a person standing on the shore of the Ross of Mull, say somewhere near the landing place or the rocks above "Bull hole," a narrow natural cove in the granitic rocks. This would not be an impossibility on a very calm day supposing the Saint were preaching at the water's edge. The other point touched on is the tradition of the great stature of the Saint and the record in a composition of the tenth century in a "Life of Columba," that at the Council of Drumceatt, the Saint incurred the resentment of the Queen, who called him "*The Crane Cleric*" in contemptuous allusion, it has been supposed, to his tall form.

BAGPIPES SCARE A MAN OF WAR IN 1627.

In a valuable paper contributed to "The Records of Argyll" by the antiquarian and Celtic scholar, Mr Alex. Carmichael, on the MacNaughtanes and their history, a very curious notice appears of the effect of the pipes on the enemy.

"Alexander MacNaughtan was a firm adherent of Charles I. from whom he received a commission in 1627, 'with ane sufficient warrant to levie and transport twa hundrethe Bowmen' to serve in the war against France. This shows that the bow was still a weapon of war in the Highlands. The requisite numbers were speedily embodied, the Laird of M'Innon, as a collateral branch of the Clan Naughtan, furnishing his proportion of the 'twa hundrethe bowmen.' The men sailed for France with a suitable accompaniment of pipers and harpers; but they were twice driven into Falmouth, 'hetlie followit by ane man of war,' who, however, seems to have been deterred from coming to close quarters from the strange effect of the 'baggyppers and the marlit plaides' of the warlike Highlanders."

This passage touches on the national instrument and on the plaids and is therefore appropriate for this pamphlet.

CONFUSION CONCERNING THE CORONACH AND THE SLOGAN.

An extraordinary confusion is often made concerning the "Coronach." The coronach was the lament of the mourners sung or repeated in a recitative way on the way to the grave. The coronach could be sung not played.

In newspapers, at times, we hear that pipers played a coronach, which is an impossibility. They can, and always do play "Piobaireachds" on the way to the grave, never anything else.

Then, again, confusion is made about the word "Slogan." The slogan is the war cry. Each clan had its own "cry"—the battle call, the war cry, the slogan.

"The Welsh have the war song 'arymes prydain' and others which are to be found in the works of the Bards."*

"The Irish had the Prosnacha-cath." Logan quotes Ammianus, xvi. ii., and says the battle shout called "Barritus, begins in a slight humming, and rises higher, like beating of waves. This cry seems to have been used by the old Romans."

MISTAKE AS TO CLAN COLOURS IN A PICTURE OF THE PRESENT DUKE OF ARGYLL.

By some extraordinary mistake the present Duke of Argyll, in a picture by Professor Angeli now at Inverary Castle, has been painted wearing the Cawdor Campbell Tartan. It has a light blue stripe and also a red stripe "through" the Campbell colours.

In an otherwise fine and correct picture as to detail of Highland dress this incorrect feature must be noted lest it go down as the correct pattern to other generations.

No Argyll has any right to the red stripe or the light blue as worn by this branch of the Campbell Clan. It is fair to state that the artist is not to blame here. The Duke has since distinctly stated to the War Office, when called on so to do some years back, what the common Campbell Clan colours are, and they contain no red stripe or light blue in his description.

* See Logan's "Gael."

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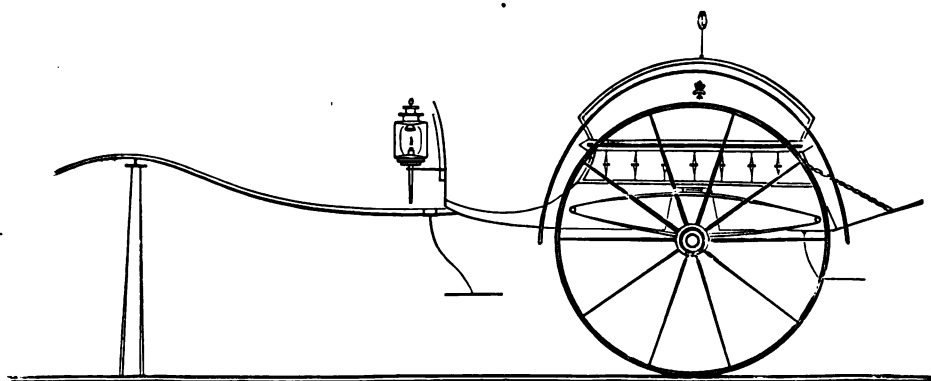
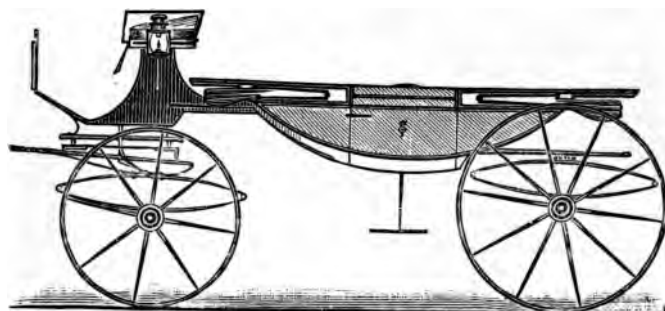
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Collected Leader

25th Feb 1891

TARTANS.

The "National Observer" is very severe on Lord Archibald Campbell's theory on tartans, as advanced in his new book about the Scottish clans. The chief "raison d'être" of Lord Archibald's notes on the Children of the Mist is, it says, "seemingly his recent discovery of Morier's 'Incident in the Scottish Rebellion in 1745,' a coloured plate of which picture is frontispiece to the volume. Lord Archibald describes the incident as one 'wherein Prince Charles Edward's men of various clans advance arrayed in the distinctive tartans of their respective clans,' and adds that 'no more conclusive proof of distinctive clan colours has been exhibited.' This may mean much or little; but, says he, it 'silences all dispute on the question at once and for ever.' Now, it was incumbent on the author of so absolute a statement to explain in minutest detail how the picture silences all dispute. For instance, a chief point in contention is the date of the adoption of distinctive tartans. Were they coeval with the clan, or are they a later introduction? Is theirs an ancient or a comparatively modern origin? As some will have it, they began with the employment of the Highlanders as a military force by Montrose and Claverhouse; that is, originally there was none—there were merely tartans worn in exceptional circumstances. There is absolutely no proof that they were worn as badges before this, and the evidence of a picture of the '45—at least painted with 'the utmost fidelity as regards costume'—is worthless on the point.

"But apart from this, does the Morier even show that clan tartans were worn in the '45? Would it not rather prove exactly the opposite? It is surely a strange negligence in Lord Archibald not to name the clans it portrays. The figures whose dress can be clearly distinguished are six (or possibly seven) in number. Each is dressed differently, and this is the only sense in which they are dressed in distinctive colours. Why is not each assigned to his clan, and why is it not shown that his clan was out in the '45? What is more important, why not explain how it came about that in a fight in the '45 the several clans got so mixed up that in the group here 'rushing on the Grenadiers' each individual should be clad in the distinctive colours of a peculiar clan? Only with one difficulty does our author so much as pretend to grapple. 'It may puzzle some persons,' he says, 'to observe that several figures in the "Incident in the Scottish Rebellion" picture wear two different clan colours or tartans.' But this does not puzzle himself, for he opines that 'when the clansmen "came out" they no doubt wore the tartan of the leaders they fought under, wearing at the same time their own clan colour in the jacket or in the kilt, which doubtless they already possessed.' But the question is, where did they wear the tartan of the leaders and where the tartan of the clan? Which garment had

LORD ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL AND THE TARTAN QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SCOTTISH LEADER."

Sir,—Some person has sent me your paper of the 25th inst. containing a notice of an attack on my "Children of the Mist" in the "National Observer."

You were good enough to note the attack and perhaps you will notice my remarks in reply. I will begin by noticing that Morier was selected for accuracy of eye and correct delineation of dress, especially of military dress, and he painted men belonging to all the regiments under H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland—specimens of the uniforms of each regiment.

The "National Review" doubts if either Morier or Cumberland knew much about Clan Tartans or clan matters generally. Morier it may be added, when he came to England, did not know every regiment or uniform of every regiment in His Royal Highness' command; but he had eyes, and accurate ears too, and when the privates or non-commissioned officers stood before him, he used these eyes accustomed to delineate foreign uniforms, and painted what he saw. To make out that one part of Morier's canvass might have details accurate enough, and to make out that the clansmen could not have been accurately painted is rather a feeble and foolish remark to my mind, and may be passed by without further note or comment as written simply in a varying spirit.

Why should "Lord Archibald not name the Clans portrayed." Why should he? I reply. The list of Jacobite clans is within reach of one and all. The coloured print is given so that people should see this well-known fact, namely, that individuals of various clans wore the distinctive clan colours. And in the "Incident" set forth in Morier's picture is a group formed of individuals of various clans; one individual among them, a kilted man, is clad in a complete suit, others are not. I regret, more than I can say, that it is impossible to interview any of Prince Charlie's troops and ask the rest why they were not all clad as this individual is—in a complete suit. I conjecture the answer to be that they had not a complete suit. As to naming Tartans, I do not profess to know at first sight all the tartans that existed or exist. Some startling proof of my assertions may soon come out regarding distinctive tartans having been worn in the days of Montrose's wars. I see little to astonish in the fact that in the '45 the custom obtained.

That Morier is accurate is certain from the detail of painting of the jacket of the man wholly clothed in the one and the same suit of tartan. The jacket is cut on the bias, as a tartan jacket should be cut or made up, in a peculiar way well known to any Highland clothier.

Morier could not have invented this peculiarity. What should my detractors say if they heard that I knew of a gentleman now living who has a MacDonnell Clan Tartan or clan colour coat which was worn by an ancestor in the Montrose Wars?

I have already proved that Stuart was worn at Killarney, and I have proved that common Campbell tartan was worn by a Scotch Campbell at Culloden, holding on Charlie's side. Yours

